

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 193915

LIMDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT MOSCOW 10422, SENT SECSTATE, USUN, TEL AVIV,  
JULY 25, 1975:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 10422

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, UN

SUBJ: DISCUSSION WITH GROMYKO ON UN MATTERS

REF: STATE 170841

1. SUMMARY. DURING DISCUSSION OF SECRETARY'S MILWAUKEE  
SPEECH WITH GROMYKO, HE EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF ADHERENCE  
TO UN CHARTER AND REITERATED SOVIET VIEW THAT ISRAEL SHOULD  
ACCEPT GUARANTEES ON SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

2. I CALLEDON GROMYKO THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS THE  
SECRETARY'S JULY 14 MILWAUKEE SPEECH. KORNIYENKO WAS  
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ALSO PRESENT, AS WAS SOVIET NOTETAKER KROKHOLEV. BREMENT  
ACCOMPANIED ME.

3. IN RECAPITULATING MAJOR TALKING POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL, I STRESSED THAT DESPITE OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO THE UN, WE SEE DISTURBING TRENDS THERE WHICH MIGHT UNDERMINE ITS EFFECTIVENESS. IN PARTICULAR, I SAID, WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBLE EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEIR POLICIES ARE NOT POPULAR WITH OTHERS, PARTICULARLY ISRAEL, AND FELT THAT THIS COULD THREATEN THE INTEGRITY OF THE UN. I ALSO QUOTED THE SECRETARY'S COMMENTS WHEN HE WAS ASKED WHAT THE U.S. WOULD DO IF ISRAEL WERE SUSPENDED OR EXCLUDED FROM THE UN. I THEN HANDED GROMYKO A NON-PAPER, BASED ON REFTEL, WHICH MADE THESE SAME POINTS IN GREATER DETAIL.

4. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE THE FULL TEXT OF THE SPEECH, AND HAVE STUDIED IT CAREFULLY. HE PERSONALLY HAD READ IT, HE SAID, AND SHARED MANY OF THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN IT. THE SOVIETS HAD HEARD RUMORS OF POSSIBLE ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN AGAINST ISRAEL BY THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE UN, GROMYKO SAID. WE LEARNED ABOUT THIS FROM THE PRESS, HE ADDED. I WILL TELL YOU FRANKLY, HE CONTINUED, THAT NO ONE CONSULTED US AND WE HAVE CONSULTED WITH NOBODY ON THIS QUESTION.

5. AT THIS POINT HE SENT KROKHOLEV OUT OF THE ROOM TO BRING BACK A COPY OF THE UN CHARTER. WHEN THE LATTER RETURNED, GROMYKO ASKED KORNIYENKO TO READ ARTICLE 6, WHICH, OF COURSE, STATED THAT EXPULSION OF UN MEMBERS CAN ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN UPON RECOMMENDATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE DIRECTION OF THOUGHT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER IN THIS REGARD IS NOT CLEAR TO US, HE SAID. BREAKING INTO ENGLISH FOR EMPHASIS, GROMYKO STATED THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY MAY TAKE A FINAL DECISION ON EXPULSION OF MEMBERS ONLY IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECOMMENDS THAT THEY BE EXPELLED. IF THERE IS NO RECOMMENDATION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THERE IS NOTHING FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO DISCUSS. BUT WHEN READING THE SPEECH, GROMYKO SAID, HE PUT THE QUESTION TO HIMSELF AS TO WHY SUCH AN EXPRESSION AS "IF ISRAEL IS EXPELLED" WAS USED.  
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6. I REPLIED THAT WE ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT THAT EXPULSION FROM THE UN CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE UPON RECOMMENDATION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT OUR CONCERN IS THAT THE GA MIGHT VOTE TO EXCLUDE ISRAEL FROM ITS SESSIONS. GROMYKO LAUGHED AND REPLIED THAT THE GA CANNOT TAKE A DECISION WHICH GOES AGAINST THE UN CHARTER, WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY CLEAR ON THIS QUESTION. THE POLITICAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL ATMOSPHERE, HOWEVER, IS ANOTHER MATTER. FOR MANY YEARS THERE WAS AN UNFAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA, BUT THAT COUNTRY REMAINED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IF ISRAEL WANTS TO LEAVE OF ITS OWN VOLITION, NOONE WOULD FORCE IT TO STAY. OTHERWISE THERE SHOULD BE NO

PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD, HE SAID.

7. AT THIS POINT, WAVING THE CHARTER IN HIS RIGHT HAND, GROMYKO SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ADHERE FIRMLY TO THIS DOCUMENT. IN THE PAST THE U.S. WAS IN SYMPATHY WITH PROPOSED REVISIONS OF THE CHARTER PUT FORWARD BY SMALL COUNTRIES, GROMYKO ASSERTED. THIS WAS A MISTAKE. THE MATTER AT HAND CONFIRMS HOW CAREFUL YOU AND WE AND OTHER MEMBERS MUST BE IN DEALING WITH THIS SMALL BOOK, HE SAID. IT IS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE THE UN CHARTER AS IT STANDS AGAINST CALLS FOR CHARTER REVISION BY VARIOUS COUNTRIES, AND NOT EXCLUSIVELY SMALL ONES--JAPAN AND BRAZIL, FOR EXAMPLE.

8. KORNIYENKO HERE INTERJECTED THAT THE BEST THING WOULD BE FOR ISRAEL NOT TO VIOLATE THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER. GROMYKO SAID THAT WAS ANOTHER PROBLEM. ISRAEL WAS WORRIED ABOUT ITS SECURITY, BUT IT CAN GET SECURITY IF IT WISHES. "THEY CAN HAVE IT FROM THE STRONGEST POWERS IN THE WORLD, BUT THEY DO NOT WANT IT. THEY THINK THAT A PIECE OF TERRITORY IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN SECURITY. WE THINK THIS IS DANGEROUS; DANGEROUS FOR OTHERS AND EVEN DANGEROUS FOR ISRAEL ITSELF." I MYSELF VOTED AT THE UN FOR THE CREATION OF ISRAEL, GROMYKO SAID. NOBODY CAN SAY TO US WE HAVE CHANGED THIS POLICY. WE DID NOT CHANGE IT NOR DID WE HAVE ANY NEED TO CHANGE IT OR MAKE CORRECTIONS IN IT. IT IS A GOOD POLICY AND WE HAVE ADHERED TO IT AND WE ARE DOING OUR BEST TO CONVINCE THE UNITED STATES AND TO CONVINCE ISRAEL THAT THIS IS INDEED OUR POLICY.

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9. I REPLIED THAT PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY ARE DIFFERENT DEPENDING ON WHERE ONE STANDS. HOWEVER, WE CERTAINLY AGREE THAT WE FACE A DANGEROUS SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THAT JOINT EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THIS BASIC PROBLEM ARE NECESSARY.

10. WHEN ASKED ABOUT HIS PERSONAL TRAVEL PLANS, GROMYKO SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ATTENDING THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GA, BUT WOULD PROBABLY BE THERE FOR THE REGULAR SESSION. WHILE IT WAS NOT YET FIRMLY DECIDED, MALIK WOULD PROBABLY REPRESENT THE USSR AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. WHEN KORNIYENKO NOTED THAT THE REGULAR SESSION BEGINS ON THE 16TH OF SEPTEMBER, GROMYKO COMPLAINED GOOD-NATUREDLY THAT IT WAS TOO EARLY FOR HIM AND THAT HE WAS PLANNING TO SPEND SOME TIME ON VACATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE THAT DATE. GROMYKO CONFIRMED THE TIMING OF THE SUMMIT MEETINGS IN HELSINKI, AND ASSERTED THAT IT WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL TO HAVE THIS POSSIBILITY FOR TALKS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY. THIS WAS

EXCELLENT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS AS WELL AS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS.

12. IN RESPONSE TO MY ASSERTION THAT RECENT  
CONSULTATIONS ON UN MATTERS BETWEEN US HAVE BEEN VERY  
USEFUL AND THAT WE SHOULD CONSULT FURTHER ON QUESTIONS  
TO BE RAISED AT THE GA SPECIAL SESSION, GROMYKO  
SAID THAT THE USSR WOULD WELCOME SUCH TALKS AND THAT  
WE SHOULD NOT RESTRICT OURSELVES TO CONSULTATIONS  
ON THE SPECIAL SESSION BUT SHOULD ALSO DISCUSS THE  
REGULAR GA SESSION AS WELL. WE SHOULD DECIDE  
IMMEDIATELY, HE SAID TO KORNIYENKO, ON WHAT LEVEL  
AND WHERE SUCH CONSULTATIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE.

13. AS THE CONVERSATION DREW TO A CLOSE, GROMYKO  
SAID THAT IN THE DAYS OF ROOSEVELT AND STALIN THE  
UN CHARTER WAS GIVEN CLOSE CONSIDERATION AND WISE  
DECISIONS WERE TAKEN. TEAR UP THE CHARTER AND THE  
STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANIZATION WILL FOLD.

14. THE CONVERSATION WAS PRECEDED BY AND ENDED WITH  
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MUTUAL CONGRATULATIONS ON APOLLO-SOYUZ. I TOOK THE  
OCCASION TO HAND GROMYKO THE ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE  
PRESIDENT TO BREZHNEV CONGRATULATING HIM ON THE SUSSESSFUL  
PERFORMANCE OF THE SOYUZ. GROMYKO SAID HE WAS VERY MUCH  
LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING THE SECRETARY IN HELSINKI.

15. COMMENT: GROMYKO WAS AT ALL TIMES VERY CORDIAL,  
FRIENDLY AND UNUSUALLY RELAXED. HE APPEARS IN EXCELLENT  
HEALTH AND WAS IN GOOD FORM AND AMIABLE THROUGHOUT. IT  
WAS CLEAR FROM HIS COMMENTS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL  
ATTEMPT TO AVOID TAKING ANY POSITION ON THE QUESTION  
OF ISRAELI EXPULSION AND THAT THEY ARE NOT LIKELY TO  
AGREE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE WITH ANY PROPOSED  
REFORMS OF THE UN CHARTER. STOESSEL UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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